

revolutionary forces. We are at war: the Mensheviks are supporting imperialism, the Bolsheviks are fighting against it; we are for the world revolution, the Mensheviks are against it." Once more he repeated the whole litany, for the third time in twenty-four hours. Now the emphasis was on the fight for control over the Soviet, the fight to the end between the Bolsheviks and the moderates.

The discussion that followed was rather tame. Tseretelli reminded Lenin of Engel's warning that the greatest danger of the revolutionary class is to seize political power prematurely, before the objective, economic conditions for liberation have developed. He stressed, however, that Lenin proposed to take over power without acts of violence, just gaining the majority of the Soviets for his policy. Concluding his speech, Tseretelli expressed the conviction that Lenin would be forced to recognize that he could not win in an ideological struggle for the souls of workers and peasants. Of other speakers, only Goldenberg, a lawyer close to the Bolsheviks, was alarmed by Lenin's pronouncements. "Not everyone who has heard this speech realizes its impact," he said. "The flag of civil war has been raised from this tribune. Lenin has announced his candidacy for the vacant throne of Bakunin, the apostle of world anarchy!"

During the discussion Lenin quietly left the meeting. Some thirty men followed him. Those who remained voted to rally the S-D party around the program of democratic peace and national defense. This group included some twenty former Bolsheviks. It was clear that in the future there would no longer be "Bolsheviks" and "Mensheviks" as two currents within the S-D party. Two forces opposed each other, no longer as political adversaries but as enemies. That was precisely what Lenin wanted. He had gained his first tactical victory—an irreconcilable split within the Soviet forces.

#### THE COMMUNISTS GAIN GROUND

The Bolsheviks—or Communists, as they began to call themselves—started the campaign under the new command. They selected the regiments of the Petrograd garrison as their first target, concentrating their attack on our most vulnerable point—the marching companies. They used the departure of each company to show the soldiers that their party alone defended them. This was a well-planned campaign, a *mélange* of lofty slogans with the appeal to the self-interest of men called to the front. Sometimes Communist agitators posed as front soldiers and told the Petrograd regiments that the front needed no reinforcements; all it needed was peace, and the only purpose in rushing reinforcements to the front was to prolong the war. At the